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April 24, 1951

Mr. Walter Reid Wolf  
2430 E Street  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Walter:

How wonderful to have a man like you in the Central Intelligence Agency and what a great opportunity you have. Because of our friendship and because you have asked me to do so, I can talk to you frankly.

To serve our country well, to do the job that is crying to be done you must be a very venturesome person, not a conservative New York banker any longer. I have almost equal admiration for Bedell Smith. I pray also that he can overcome the handicaps of his military training and traditions and like another great soldier fight against a floundering policy at the top. I wonder if he and you and your associates have the guts to do the job in C.I.A. that the present emergency calls for.

This war with Russia doesn't have to be won on the battlefields of Asia or of Europe, or in the air over Russia. It can be won much more certainly and quickly and infinitely more cheaply by a different kind of effort, an effort that in my opinion belongs right on your desk in the C.I.A.

What needs to be done? Every down-to-earth person in the country knows how to win this war. Get out of your ivory towers in New York and Washington and talk to any ordinary person from the student of history in high school to the man in the street and he will tell you how to beat the Russian imperialists. He will know what needs to be done. It is this.

We must support the aspirations of the little people all over the world. The most powerful force everywhere is the struggle of human beings to improve their lot, to eat, to live, to care for their families. "What people strive for is a little more

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food in their stomachs, a little better clothing on their backs, and a little firmer roof over their heads." (MacArthur). Communism promised them this. Many in desperation became communists, then found they were even worse off than before and unwittingly lost the next thing they valued most, individual liberty. Millions and millions of people in China, India, the iron curtain Eastern European countries, yes even Russia itself, are trying desperately just to stay alive and hold up their heads as individuals. Under communism they can't do this. They thought they could at first but they have been disillusioned, and that very disillusion can be our mightiest weapon.

We can get these people on our side in the world struggle today by a clear policy intelligently stated and skillfully administered. That policy is this. We must tell these little people of Asia and Europe and show them not once but many times and convince them that we, the people of the United States want to help them to live, to eat, to be free.

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for  
India.*

We are not fighting the people of China but their rulers. We hold no animosity against the Czechs, Poles, Rumanians. On the contrary, we intend to help them break out from the tyranny that is oppressing them. We are not even fighting the Russians, just the Kremlin. We don't want to impose any special system of government on them. Our kind of democracy for example. They can choose their own. And we don't want anything for our help. Not any territory, no concessions, no trade advantages. Just peace.

How do we get to these peoples? How do we convince these millions who have been told just the opposite about us? How do we let them know for certain that we want to help them? Well! The C.I.A. should know how to get to them. At least its predecessor the O.S.S. did. In China, for example, we should flow all kinds of encouragement and support (military, financial, economic) into parts of China where known opposition to Mao Tse-tung exists. You know or can find wide areas in the Canton region and on the Shantung peninsular where centers

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of resistance are already making headway. Give these spots what they need to overthrow the communist dictators. It will not cost much. In Asia this is a poor man's war. They will fight and win on very little just as Americans under Washington did for freedom.

All over Eastern Europe, let's go to work for the common people who pray each night for the miracle that will some day let them rise against the NKVD and become free men again. Your agency knows or should know how to build the pipe lines to feed that discontent, to make that discontent strong until some day it will erupt into an explosion that will topple the Politburo into the dust. The very yearning for freedom, for those great ideologies and reforms that made most communists communists, now are the very forces that properly harnessed and encouraged and nourished can most certainly overthrow dictatorships everywhere and promise and actually restore some semblance of economic security and individual freedom to millions and millions of people. Soldiers cannot do it. Atomic bombs cannot do it. The little people can do it. Let's get them working for us by showing them how they can work for themselves.

The end to be accomplished justifies almost any means and the C.I.A. must use all the confidential subversive underground, smuggling, bribing, technique developed (so it is said) quite well by the O.S.S. during the war. To that extent the program must be sheltered from all publicity. But this underground effort is only part of what needs to be done. It is important but let's not overemphasize it. It is only one phase of the job.

Far greater and more effective weapons are the benefits that can be shouted from the housetops. We must shout and shout until we are heard in the four corners of the earth that we will help all oppressed peoples under communist domination. We are at war with their dictatorial rulers not with any people anywhere. We should broadcast from the loudest loudspeakers, we should advertise in every medium we know, we should headline every publicity release, we should distribute tens of millions of pamphlets and tons and tons of literature

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(mostly pictorial), we should show by government statement and action that we are on the side of the people against oppression, that we will fight for freedom against communism, that we will help the little people everywhere defeat starvation and death and we don't want a damn thing in return.

This means that all over Europe as well as Asia we are for land reforms. We favor a much more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity. Some of our arch conservatives in the United States will not understand this and in their ignorance will oppose it. We must take the stand that we are unalterably opposed to colonialism. England and perhaps you as an Anglophile will resist, but anticolonialism is one of the strongest influences in Asia today and we should use it to defeat Russia and not let it defeat us. We should not only give wheat from our great surplus to India when thousands are starving but we should do it again and again. Moreover we should not have to debate it interminably and then do it grudgingly. Rather, we should take a liberty ship all painted up with American flags and staffed by many high government officials and with suitable ballyhoo present millions of little packages of wheat all done up in red, white and blue ribbons to millions of Hindoos. Our every act in foreign policy should be with the common people of those countries clearly in mind, a mind full of sympathy and understanding for those in economic and social difficulty.

Now you say that the C.I.A. can't perform all these functions; that they belong in the State Department. Granted. But the C.I.A. under strong and convincing leadership can do and must do much that is not being done at all. It must be the all-important point of contact with these peoples. And primarily, it must function on its own with its own methods without telling the State Department what is going on. The Secretary of State, the Under and Assistant Secretaries, the foreign diplomats can maintain their holier-than-thou attitude and conform to that part of the program that appears on the front pages of newspapers and is advocated in the United Nations debates.

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Supplementing this, the C.I.A., operating independently, must fight fire with fire, must use imagination, and daring and secrecy and develop activities all over the world of a nature that is understood by every factory worker, shop keeper, farmer, educator, business man, but for some reason is not grasped by our present administration and State Department. We must go into these countries. We must give help to those within who are ready to work for freedom but don't know where to turn for support and supplies and money and information. For every American in this work, we must recruit ten nationals in each country, then one hundred, then a hundred thousand. Heads will fall, many of them, but only a comparatively few Americans need be sacrificed. The C.I.A. can win more easily, cheaply, quickly than the Joint Chiefs of Staff. At best the Pentagons of the world can run about putting out fires. The head of C.I.A. can be more important in determining the outcome of our struggle than MacArthur, Eisenhower, Ridgway all rolled into one.

To counter with the comment that we have finally established a Department of Psychological Warfare is absurd. Any such group under the State Department as presently constituted is impotent to do the work that is needed. To point to incipient efforts like the Voice of America and other similar activities shows lack of appreciation of the magnitude of the task and the great size of the opportunity.

I realize that some form of supervision must be exercised by several government agencies and perhaps even by Congress. Many activities now accomplishing much good that are directed by the Departments of State, Commerce, Defense, etc. could all be coordinated with the objectives of C.I.A. An organizational setup might be a Board of Control or Policy Board composed of representatives of State, Commerce, Defense, (or Chiefs of Staff) and the White House who would instruct the head of C.I.A. what its general objectives and aims should be. It might even decide how its annual appropriations should be spent by general categories. Beyond that it should not go. From there on the C.I.A. would be on its own. This letter

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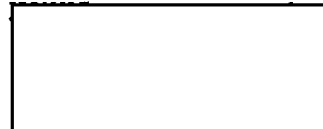
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is not intended to set up the mechanics of doing the job, which are easy of solution but rather to point out the opportunity. There is a serious vacuum in our government thinking which I hope the C.I.A. can fill to its eternal credit and glory.

To repeat. The kind of war we could fight and win against Russia with the maximum safety to our country and our liberty is one that lines up on our side the great forces of social revolution that are sweeping the world. Let us promise to the poverty-stricken millions more food, more individual freedom, more hope for the future. Those truths are self-evident so why, oh why, doesn't our government establish direct contact with those forces in other lands and take every means to start today to live up to those promises. We must go to them into their own lands and encourage them to throw out the oppressors and emerge as free people under their own free governments and shape their own national destinies.

This is the challenge of the C.I.A. Government red tape departmental procedure must be overcome first. That will take real leadership. Then the big job must be tackled. That will take organizing and administrative talents. Today it takes courage, ability, wisdom to grab the ball and run with it. If you wait until it is passed to you voluntarily, the game may be lost. I hope you and your associates have the strength and vision and courage required. The opportunity is tremendous.

Cordially



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